



Center for Slavic and East European Studies

University of California
Berkeley, California
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Newsletter

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In This Issue:

- Life in the post-Soviet era:
Shari Cohen, "Identity Crisis in the Former Soviet Union: Who were We? Who Are We Now?"
P. 3
- Kathleen Smith, "Soviet 'Memorial': A Former Camp City Remembers"
P. 5
- Local relief efforts for the former Soviet Union
P. 7
- BSP fall conferences
P. 2
- 1992 Outreach Conference (see Calendar) P. 12
- Summer language program information
P. 8
- Staff changes P. 7

Notes From the Chair

We at the Center wish all of you a happy and healthy New Year. As always, we will do our best to contribute to your satisfaction with a wide array of stimulating events and programs. This semester, for example, our annual outreach conference, entitled "Beyond the Soviet Union," features discussion of developments within, and relations among, the new states that used to comprise the Soviet Union.

We are pleased to greet several visiting scholars joining us for the semester: Alec Nove (Glasgow, Department of Political Science), offering a lecture course on post-Soviet economics; Andrei Melville (Moscow, Department of Political Science), teaching a course on the politics of perestroika; Roman Z. Livschitz (Moscow, School of Law), offering a course on Soviet and post-Soviet public law; and Raoul Eshelman (Hamburg, Slavic Department), teaching courses on Russian literature.

The Center has recently published two major books spawned by its programs: *Dilemmas of Transition in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe*, and *Soviet Policy in Africa: From the Old to the New Thinking* (in press). The first volume specifies many of the complex trade-offs facing leaders of reform movements in Soviet-type systems. The second volume asks how, when and why Soviet leaders came to the conclusion that competition for political-military influence in Africa was not worth the cost.

Among the star attractions of our programs are our graduate students. This issue features two Berkeley-Stanford students, recent visitors to the former USSR, who reflect on the state of the Soviet dis-union.

— George W. Breslauer

Leading Soviet Legal Scholar Visiting Professor at Boalt

Roman Zinov'evich Livschitz, a senior scholar and sector head at the Institute of State and Law of the Russian Academy of Sciences, will be teaching a course on Soviet law at Boalt Hall this semester. Lectures will trace the development of law during the Soviet period. Particular emphasis will be placed on the many changes in law and legal institutions during the perestroika era, including the ongoing efforts to create a *pravovoe gosudarstvo*, or a state based on the rule of law.

Professor Livschitz has had a varied legal career. After university he spent 16 years as an attorney for the official Soviet trade union, following that with a two-year stint as a trial court judge. He has spent the last 20 years pursuing scholarly interests at the Institute of State and Law, where he presently heads the sector on the sociology of law.

Recognized as one of the leading experts on Soviet labor law, Professor Livschitz has published countless books and articles on various aspects of the subject. In recent years his articles have been increasingly critical of the highly prescriptive nature of Soviet labor law, suggesting that it acts to limit the discretion of management and thereby inhibits the development of market forces.

He has also acted as a consultant to legislative drafting commissions and gave expert testimony before the USSR Constitutional Supervision Commission when it was determining the constitutionality of the law prohibiting managers from appealing their dismissals directly to courts.

In addition to these technical labor law issues, Professor Livschitz has also written a

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See page 11

News From the Berkeley-Stanford Program

The Berkeley-Stanford Program held two major conferences during the fall of 1991; one exploring the broader ramifications of the Soviet-Japanese relationship and the other addressing the complex of economic, political, social and security issues involved in the post-Soviet transition process.

The conference on "Soviet-Japanese Relations: Domestic and Foreign Policy Linkages," was held in Berkeley in September 1991 and included scholars from the USSR, Japan, South Korea, Great Britain and the United States. The propitious timing of the conference made it one of the first major international gatherings addressing Soviet issues after the failed coup attempt in August 1991.

The conference treated the Soviet-Japanese relationship as the focal point of analysis for the sources of change in the Soviet and Russian roles in Asia. Scholars examined in detail the linkages between Soviet domestic developments, particularly the economic crisis and federal disintegration, and international change; how these factors affect Soviet policy in Asia; and what these changes mean for the future economic, political, and security relationships between the USSR and Asia. Panel topics included: 1) The Changing Soviet Scene; 2) The International Context and Soviet Foreign Policy; 3) Soviet-Japanese Relations: The Gorbachev-Kaifu Summit and its Aftermath; 4) Soviet-Japanese Relations and Asian Security; 5) The Soviet Far East and its Integration into Asia; and 6) Soviet Economic Relations with Major Asian Powers.

Whereas China had been the first priority in Asia during the Gorbachev era, conference participants agreed that if the Soviet Union or Russia desires to be an important player in the Asia-Pacific region in the future, then relations with Japan will be the first

priority in the region. But while the unresolved Northern Island dispute has been the major obstacle to improved Soviet-Japanese relations, each side's unwillingness to compromise reflects a more deep-seated ambivalence about the importance the two nations have attached to improved relations with the other. As Jonathan Haslam of King's College, Cambridge, pointed out, several confrontations during this century alone have left a psychological residue of animosity and distrust on each side. In addition, powerful bureaucratic and institutional interests in both the Soviet Union and Japan have benefited from and consequently promoted a confrontational stance toward one another. Igor Tyshetskii of the Diplomatic Academy in Moscow argued that the recent upsurge of Russian nationalism has also complicated prospects for rapprochement, and that it would have been easier for Gorbachev to negotiate a compromise on the island issue several years ago.

Despite these obstacles, participants pointed to a number of factors which favor Soviet/Russian-Japanese reconciliation, including: 1) the decisive reduction of power of the military and Communist party apparatus in foreign policy decision-making in Moscow after the coup; 2) the relaxation of the U.S.-Soviet Cold War confrontation; 3) The imperative of the former Soviet Union to engage Japan in its economic recovery; 4) the development of a growing younger generation of cadres in Japanese foreign policy circles who support improved relations with the Soviet Union; and others. Nevertheless, participants also expressed the view that a rapprochement based on a compromise on the island issue probably could not occur until the political situation in Russia had been substantially consolidated and the nature of the RSFSR's relations with the republics of the former Soviet

Union had been resolved. Professor Haslam, Tsuyoshi Hasegawa of the University of California at Santa Barbara, and BSP executive director Andrew Kuchins are in the final editing stages of a volume of revised conference papers entitled *The Soviet Union, Russia, and Japan: Domestic and Foreign Policy Linkages*.

In 1991 the Program embarked upon a three-year collaborative research project with scholars from the Institute of International Economic and Political Studies in Moscow to study the Soviet transition. The project serves the dual function of extending the academic analysis of the Soviet transition and also informing policy-makers in both Moscow and Washington. After an initial set of meetings in Moscow in May 1991, the Program hosted a delegation from Moscow for the conference "The Soviet Transition: Disintegration and State-building," which was held on the Berkeley and Stanford campuses November 18-20, 1991. The Soviet delegation was comprised of the following: Oleg T. Bogomolov, director of the Institute of International Economic and Political Studies (IIEPS); IIEPS deputy director Alexander Tsipko; Lilia Shevtsova, head of the Center for Political Studies at IIEPS; Vitalii Shlykov, deputy chair of the RSFSR State Committee on Defense; Sergei Rogov, deputy director of the Institute of USA and Canada Studies; Leokadiia Drobizheva of the Institute of Ethnography; and Darya Pavlova-Silvanskaya and Vladimir, both younger scholars at IIEPS.

Gail Lapidus, chair of the Berkeley-Stanford Program, in opening the conference remarked that the simultaneous crises of the disintegration of federal ties, economic collapse and the vacuum of effective political institutions and apparatus to implement policy, make the post-Soviet transition process extraordinarily

Identity Crisis in the Former Soviet Union: Who Were We? Who Are We Now?

What is it that makes disintegration almost tangible in the air in the republics of the former Soviet Union? It is not just the crumbling buildings and infrastructure, that was always there; it is not the general dreariness, that was there too. In addition to the ubiquitous signs of an economy in collapse, I think that what makes the disintegration palpable is a multilayered disorientation about who is "I", who is "we" and who is "they".

Take, for example, the memorial that now stands in front of the Russian white house surrounded by what remains of the barricades: the handwritten sign says, "To our victory," as if who "we" are is at all clear and as if the "they" does not even have to be mentioned. But who are "we" in the line for dry milk in Leningrad, no, St. Petersburg, a line which looks more like a brawl as it snakes into a courtyard and up to a counter in a tiny room stacked with cannisters of the coveted substance? "What are they selling?" implore women desperately as they get into line and find themselves in competition with the person in front of them, who might get the last one of whatever it is.

We have become accustomed to the notion of the split between the public and private persona in the Soviet Union: public conformity vs. truth and passion around the kitchen table; rudeness on the subway but devotion to one's friends. However, reconstituting wholes out of these parts is not automatic once opportunities become available. Right is no longer simply "the people" and wrong is no longer defined by the "them" of the state; responsibility for making choices about whom to identify with has become critical.

There is a different "we" and "they" as people stand curiously peering in the window of a new French beauty salon on Gorky, no Tverskaya, street, wondering who can afford to go

Meanwhile people believe, adamantly, in scandal. The one thing they know is that the powers that be, the old and the new (they say they voted for Yeltsin), are corrupt.

there and why this luxury is not hidden as it used to be when it was the Communist party who indulged out of public view. The boundary between "we" and "they" is now delineated by hard currency, an almost magical phrase and notion as the ruble becomes less and less valuable. "Only for *valuta*" mutters a woman as she sees me looking into an Italian icecream store just off Nevsky Prospekt. "We used to have six different types of sausage... and we had candies..." people wistfully say. We. They who are rich; they who are criminal: the legacy simultaneously of egalitarianism and tyranny. But who are we??

"We believe" is the slogan on a Yeltsin poster as he stands, fist raised against, or for, what? What does belief mean in this context? Certainly what is truly lacking as winter approaches is belief in the future, as if the abyss awaits and the population moves inexorably towards it. Meanwhile people believe, adamantly, in scandal. The one thing they know is that the powers that be, the old and the new (they say they voted for Yeltsin), are corrupt. Evidence of this is the money that old and new leaders have in foreign bank accounts and the fact that suddenly they are all publishing memoirs, in the West. Even Lenin was not immune goes one current rumor, he lived high off the hog in exile off the proceeds of Stalin's bank robberies... I heard a great deal of discussion about one line in Raisa Gorbachev's book. She wrote that among the hardships they suffered when Gorbachev was prisoner in his dacha during the coup was that her grandchild couldn't swim

in the Black Sea. Whether this was really a central point in her account of being under house arrest is not as important as the fact that it was taken as evidence of her lack of understanding of what the hardships "we" face are, and that she somehow deserved to be held prisoner.

It is not surprising that there is a lack of belief. A teacher from Yaroslavl complained that ration coupons are issued, but the products do not exist. In eastern Siberia, villagers do not make money, as you might expect, by selling to the Trans-Siberian railroad; instead they regularly buy from the train's kitchen as the train stops for two or eight or ten minutes. At Ulan Ude we passed a train full of bedraggled soldiers who had been sent to bring in the harvest. A startling proportion of high-school girls aspire to become hard-currency prostitutes. For them, the future is only a continuation of the current confusion and breakdown; there is no "we" at all.

But maybe it is not lack of belief *per se* but lack of belief in their ability to change their fate. God, or at least religious symbols, are back. Crosses are everywhere. Flip on the TV and you see a wistful, handsome young singer wandering through the decrepit streets of Moscow singing about the fate of old Rus'; reflected in his sunglasses is a Russian Orthodox church in dire need of repair. People talk about Russianness more than ever now, but mostly as a legacy that encumbers. Mostly they bemoan the fact that Russians are the only people in the world who could make such a rich country poor. Several people told me that "we Russians" are the lowest people on earth. The diagnosis is odd. On the one hand it is Russianness that makes this so: the low level of political culture of Russians makes them unlikely to be able to understand that they have to take responsibility for their own fate, whether buying land or

participating in politics. On the other hand the system itself is to blame: how could people be expected to take new economic opportunities when uncertainty about the future is so high, the command system continues to dominate supplies, and who knows when someone will come along and take back the land? A bit more consistent and optimistic is the notion that "they" have robbed "us" of our memory of how to be productive, which means that "we" once were productive. One TV image sticks in my mind as particularly poignant and significant: scenes of collectivization were shown on rewind. Who were we? Who are we now?

"I", "we" and "they" is defined differently if you happen not to be a Russian. Our Tatar guide lives in Tashkent, voted for Yeltsin but insists that Yeltsin is a chauvinist. He is convinced that he will have to leave Tashkent because he looks Russian; he thinks that Moscow is both villain and savior. But when it comes down to it, the civil war will be between the new Communist bourgeoisie, who steal all economic opportunities, and "the people".

In Tbilisi, every evening at 5:00 crowds gather in front of the state house on Rustaveli avenue where Gamsakhurdia is holed up. You ask them what's going on and they say: "we are defending our president." Against who? "The hooligans who are the opposition." The Tbilisi intelligentsia despairs at the masses who thoughtlessly rally behind Gamsakhurdia; they are horrified by the young, often drunk men from the countryside who walk around the city in fatigues with guns slung over their shoulders. But when you ask them about the situation in Southern Ossetia, they are sure that Georgians are being killed by Ossetians and that Moscow has misinformed the Western press, making Georgians look like the villains. In the mostly Russian city of Khabarovsk, "we" and "they" is

defined more on regional lines. The people of Khabarovsk want economic autonomy and the opportunity for the Japanese to save them. This sleepy town close to the Chinese border is inundated with Asian businessmen. The streetcars have ads for a stock exchange. Lenin's statue still stands there in the central square.

In the bookstore in Khabarovsk, you can still buy posters of Lenin in many different poses and all his works. I asked the cashier when Lenin would disappear from the bookstore. She laughed; she was wearing a cross. In bookstores elsewhere the Marxism-Leninism section was roped off or had disappeared. In Moscow, there was an informational table in front of the Lenin museum trying to rally support for protecting the civil rights of communists; the Moscow city soviet was planning to close down the museum.

Amidst the confusion caused by changed street names and empty pedestals there is a great deal of inertia. You get a sense that people feel a mixture of relief and dread: relief that the past is over; dread about the future. Meanwhile they line up for ice cream and bundle up their kids against the chill of fall.

One of the more interesting post-coup *New York Times* articles began with the line: "One of the things bothering Soviet citizens now that the Communist Party is a thing of the past is what to call each other."¹ *Tovarish* will no longer do, but *Gospodin* is too much associated with pre-revolution-

In the mostly Russian city of Khabarovsk, "we" and "they" is defined more on regional lines. The people of Khabarovsk want economic autonomy and the opportunity for the Japanese to save them.

ary inequalities. They resort to calling each other *devushka* (girl), or *zhenschina* (woman), a form of address that seems appropriate to this period of disorientation, stripped as it is of any indication of what type of community people now live in. □

¹ *New York Times*, Sept. 9, 1991, p. A6.

SHARI COHEN traveled to the Soviet Union in October 1991 as an enrichment lecturer for a UC Berkeley Alumni tour. Shari is a Berkeley-Stanford Program graduate student presently doing research for her dissertation, "which will look at the way in which post-Leninist elites are playing the Nazi and Stalinist pasts against one another in their attempts to create national identities."



Newsletter

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Soviet "Memorial": A Former Camp City Remembers

Vorkuta, Kolyma, Magadan, and Ukhta are little known in the West, but for those who lived in Stalin's Soviet Union the names of these cities conjure up images of frozen lands, coal and timber, and the concentration camps of the GULAG archipelago. In researching the present day movement to restore the truth about Stalin's mass repressions of the 1930s, I wanted to visit Vorkuta to see how a former "camp city" was coming to grips with its past. Twice in early 1991 I attempted to get permission from the Soviet government to visit Vorkuta and was turned down each time. Just after I had submitted an appeal to the visa office in April 1991, Vorkuta was finally taken off the list of cities "closed" to foreigners. Thus, in June I flew north across a seemingly endless vista of trees, almost to the Arctic Circle.

Not surprisingly, given its isolation and cold climate, Vorkuta was uninhabited in 1930 when geologists discovered huge deposits of coal in this region. Indeed, the city of Vorkuta did not exist before the camps. The series of penal camps which eventually dotted the whole region were built so that labor would be available to build and staff the coal mines. Millions of Soviet political prisoners passed through these camps from 1934, when they were opened, until 1955, when Khrushchev finally ordered them closed.

Today few visible signs of Vorkuta's past remain. In areas of the former Soviet Union where the climate is more hospitable, the physical remains of labor camps are preserved. In the coal mining city of Karaganda, in Kazakhstan, local operators offer tourist excursions through the former prison camps. But Vorkuta's camps have disappeared. Over the years many buildings were disassembled and reassembled as the camps moved to new sites in pursuit of richer veins of coal, and the tundra has swallowed up many of the remaining

traces of the prisoners' presence.

The disappearance of these reminders of Vorkuta's past in part inspired Dmitri Mamashvili, a former political prisoner forced to settle in Vorkuta after his liberation, to lobby for the formation of a committee to create a monument to the victims of Stalin in Vorkuta. In June 1988, when the movement to commemorate victims of Stalinism began, Gorbachev had removed the stigma from talking about the tragedies of the past, but independent organizations were still rare. Given these conflicting messages, the city authorities refused to take a stance on the appeal to create a monument to Stalin's victims. Nevertheless, Mamashvili and his small group of supporters found support at the local newspaper, which published several historical articles about the camps. By December 1988, when representatives of the nationwide "Memorial" movement met for the first time in Moscow, representatives of the Vorkuta organization could boast that they had already erected a memorial plaque on the site of the first mine and had begun to hold regular office hours where volunteers helped former prisoners and their families with legal, medical and financial problems.

Over the past three years the Vorkuta "Memorial" society has extended its activities to include a series of expositions on camp history and art at the local museum, publication of memoirs of former prisoners, assistance to numerous Soviet and Western documentary film crews. "Memorial" has sponsored its own candidates in local elections and has won privileges for former victims of Stalin. Since pensions were small, and since time spent in labor camps did not count toward their pensions, many elderly former prisoners lived in poverty without access to special food stores, free passage on city transport and other privileges granted to World War II veterans. "Memorial's" biggest project, however, is the transformation of Vorkuta into a city of memorials.

Long before I travelled to Vorkuta I had heard of the visit of the émigré Russian sculptor Ernst Neizvestny. Neizvestny offered to design monuments for Vorkuta and other camp cities and made large donations to special funds created for that purpose. "Memorial" activity in Vorkuta has focused on the construction of a series of sculptures and a massive monument resembling a skull designed by Neizvestny, which will contain a



Wooden crosses stand at a cemetery near Vorkuta.

library and archive on the repressions. The current president of "Memorial," the gifted artist and city architect Aleksei Troshin, has already commissioned several famous sculptors from the former Soviet republics to contribute their works for what will be a ring of monuments marking the sites of the first set of camps in Vorkuta. A great boulder wrapped in barbed wire already stands on an embankment sloping down over the river which runs through the heart of the city. Neizvestny's skull-like mask will be build into the side of this slope and will gaze down over the city.

Perhaps the most touching monument to the victims of the Vorkuta camps, however, is a small cemetery constructed decades ago by the prisoners to bury their fellow inmates. According to local amateur historian and former political prisoner Pavel Negretov, many such cemeteries exist, but most of them are lost beneath thick brush and high grass. He and his grandson took me out to see the cemetery, marked by several high weatherbeaten wooden crosses erected by visting representatives of victims groups from the Baltics and the Ukraine. Few of the original markers, wooden boards with no

names but only prison numbers carved on them, remain. Negretov explained that a few years ago the markers were more plentiful, but many had since been carried off by souvenir hunters. Negretov has contributed his own more long-lasting monument to his comrades who died in the camps: he has written his own memoir and aids "Memorial" in collecting oral histories of other camp survivors. Thus in creative and diverse ways the residents of Vorkuta are restoring the true history of their city. □

KATHLEEN SMITH is a Berkeley-Stanford Program graduate student in political science. She recently spent six months in the Soviet Union, where she was affiliated with the Interlegal Research Center and with the Moscow State Historical Archives Institute, under the auspices of ACTR. This article grew out of research for her dissertation: "Coming to Terms With Previous State Repressions: Civic Activism and Regime Responses in the USSR."



A boulder marks the site of the future Neizvestny monument.

Thanks, Everyone

The Center sincerely thanks the following individuals who contributed to the Slavic Center from September 5, 1991, through January 7, 1992. The support of the Center Associates makes possible many additional programs each year. Watch this page for announcements of special offerings for our members. * (Signifies recent gift of continuing membership)

Members

F. Steward and Melissa Chapin
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ASC Members Hear Brumfield

On Thursday, November 14, the Associates of the Slavic Center were invited to a lecture by William C. Brumfield, Associate Professor of Slavic Languages at Tulane University, and author of two excellent works on Russian architecture: *Gold in Azure: One Thousand Years of Russian Architecture* (1983) and *The Origins of Modernism in Russian Architecture* (1990). The lecture, entitled "Moscow on the Threshold of a New Century: Russian Architecture from 1900 to 2000," was accompanied by lavish slides. Many of these are duplicated in his most recent book on Russian modernism, a movement

Announcements

Relief Efforts Underway

The Oakland/Nakhodka Sister City Organization is participating in the "Russian Winter Campaign," organized by Diomedes, Inc. The Campaign has already collected a planeload of supplies donated by Bay Area businesses and hospitals, and has sent them to Moscow and St. Petersburg on planes provided by Project Hope. The Oakland/Nakhodka group is in the process of obtaining a needs assessment from Nakhodka. This effort is limited to medical supplies; volunteers are contacting hospitals and pharmaceutical companies in the area.

Anyone interested in helping by making calls or visits to hospitals, by contacting doctors, or by donating money, should call board member Steve Hopkins at 510/524-2555. Those wishing to donate money should make checks out to "the Oakland/Nakhodka Sister City Organization" and specify "medical supplies."

The Center For Commonwealth Initiatives (formerly The Center for U.S./USSR Initiatives), is requesting donations of clothing for the former Soviet Union, pharmaceuticals for St. Petersburg, and volunteers to help pack items.

Needed are childrens' and adult clothing in good condition. The drop-off time and place has yet to be announced: call the Center at 510/346-1875 for information. Pharmaceuticals needed include cough preparations, antihistamines, throat lozenges, diarrhea medication, laxatives, aspirin and acetaminophen. Call Linda Sayre at 408/867-3478 concerning pharmaceuticals or to volunteer for packing. All work will take place in San Francisco. □

Associates' Winter Wine and Cheese Lecture

On Tuesday, February 6, Center Research Associate Ann Cooper will speak to the Associates about her recent experiences in Moscow as a reporter for National Public Radio. The talk, which begins at 7:30 pm, will be followed by a question and answer session and an informal reception. This first "Wine and Cheese Lecture" of the Spring semester will be held at the Women's Faculty Club on the UCB campus. Doors open at 7:00 pm. For more information call 510/643-6205.

Associates' Tickets To a Performance By the Polish National Folk Ensemble

Masowsze, the national folk music, song, and dance ensemble of Poland, will perform at UC Berkeley's Zellerbach Hall on Thursday, March 12, and Friday, March 13, at 8:00 pm. The Center has obtained a number of excellent orchestra seats for the Friday, March 13, concert held in reserve for our Associates at the reduced price of \$15.50 per ticket. Reservations and *payment* must be received in the Center office no later than **Wednesday, February 26**. Because seating is limited we recommend that you call the Center for reservations prior to mailing a request for tickets. Please mail checks to: The Center for Slavic and East European Studies ATTN: Mary Kay Stuvland, 361 Stephens Hall, UC Berkeley, Berkeley, CA 94720. For more information call Mary Kay at 510/643-6205. □

Volume on the August Coup: Call for Papers

Eyewitness accounts of the August coup are needed for a volume to be edited by Victoria Bonnell, Ann Cooper and Gregory Freidin. Contributions welcome in English or in Russian. Please send material to Victoria Bonnell, Department of Sociology, Barrows Hall 410, University of California, Berkeley CA 94720. □

Center Staff Changes

As many of you know, Maxine Fredericksen has left the Center to join the Department of Rhetoric as a graduate assistant. We miss her and wish her the greatest success in her new and demanding position.

Her successor is Brenda Rizzetto, a young woman of many capabilities with a background in area studies. She is a 1984 graduate of UC Berkeley's Development Studies program, where she concentrated on third world development, as well as on the analysis of political and economic systems. For the last few years she has been active in volunteer work in a fundraising capacity and has worked in a local accounting firm.

Brenda retains a strong interest in international studies. She has traveled extensively, to the former Soviet Union, Israel and Indonesia, among other countries, and eventually hopes to be involved in some aspect of international business. Working at the Center, she says, "makes me want to dig out my slides of the Soviet Union." We hope she does, and look forward to benefiting from the competence and intellectual curiosity she brings us. □

Brumfield/*from page 6*

which, with its emphasis on plasticity of structure and decorative art in glass, ceramics and wrought iron, presents similarities to the art nouveau movement in Western Europe. Professor Brumfield discussed the relationship between architecture and society. He suggested parallels between Russia in the first decade of the century and the Russian republic today in its struggle to regain democratic values in society and in the arts. The audience was treated to lively discourse and rare photographs of landmarks such as the Hotel Metro-pole, the Riabushinsky House, and the Moscow Art Theatre. A reception and book-signing followed—all in all, a very pleasant evening for Associates and other guests. □

Fellowships and Other Opportunities

In conjunction with the Association for the Advancement of Baltic Studies (AABS), IREX has established a Baltic Scholarly Center in Riga, Latvia. The Center's activities will include exchange of information about academic developments and events between the Balts and other countries in the West; distribution of news concerning research and grants; facilitation of academic cooperation among Baltic academic institutions and scholars, and the organization of exchange programs. The Center is co-sponsored by the scholarly communities of the three Baltic states and will be jointly operated by U.S. and Baltic staff. For more information on this new project, contact Wesley Fisher at IREX, or Janis Gaigulis at AABS, 111 Knob Hill Road, Hackettstown, NJ 07840; 908/852-5258.

IREX now has offices in Moscow, Prague and Bucharest, which assist both U.S. and Soviet/East European scholars, providing information about institutions of higher learning, research facilities and funding. In this way they hope to improve the quality of scholarly communication. A new Albanian exchange will be underway in 1992: contact Obrad Kesic at IREX for more information.

IREX Developmental Fellowships: Advanced doctoral candidates, post-docs and faculty are eligible for fellowships in preparation for eventual research in Eastern Europe, the Baltics, and the republics of the former USSR. A subsequent IREX exchange grant is also necessary to undertake research in these regions. Grants are intended for use in the U.S. These are not dissertation grants. For application materials and information contact IREX, 126 Alexander Street, Princeton, NJ 08540-7102; 609/683-9500. The application deadline is **FEBRUARY 15, 1992**.

Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowships (FLAS) are awarded to students in modern foreign languages and area studies including Bulgarian, Czech, Hungarian, Mongolian, Polish, Russian and Serbo-Croatian. A statement of purpose is required. Priority is given to students in the humanities, social sciences and professional fields. FLAS fellowships are administered by the Graduate Division, Fellowships and Appointments Office, 318 Sproul Hall; 642-0672. Application materials are available only at that office.

FLAS Academic Year Fellowships: Prospective graduate students apply within the admission application process. Applications for continuing/returning graduate students are available from the Graduate Fellowships and Appointments Office and are due **JANUARY 6, 1992**.

Slavic Center Mellon Dissertation Write-up Grants:

Purpose: to assist advanced graduate students with expenses incurred during the final write-up of a dissertation. Awards continued to be modest, not exceeding \$3,000. **Eligibility:** UC Berkeley Ph.D. candidates who are in the process of completing their dissertations. Because funds are limited, students are eligible to receive only one Center Mellon dissertation grant during their graduate careers. The application consists of the following: (1) dissertation prospectus; (2) statement of program to date on the dissertation, indicating expected filing date; (3) statement of financial need (estimated income and expenses); and (4) two letters of reference from dissertation

committee members, confirming the expected filing date. Submit to: George W. Breslauer, Chair, Center for Slavic and East European Studies, Attn: Dissertation Grants, 361 Stephens Hall. The application deadline is **MARCH 15, 1992**.

SUMMER PROGRAMS

Slavic Center Mellon Grants for Summer Language Study:

Purpose: to help support UC Berkeley graduate students wishing to study a Slavic or East European language during summer 1992 at language programs either in the US or abroad. Preference will be given to students enrolling in intensive programs (equivalent to one year's college-level language study). Please note that the amount awarded is very limited and will not cover the total cost of some summer programs. Students should therefore look for additional sources of support.

Eligibility: any UC Berkeley graduate student who has been registered at UC Berkeley during the 1991-92 academic year.

All applicants must also apply for summer 1992 FLAS fellowships. The following materials should be submitted: (1) a letter of request, including prior training, relevance to your graduate program, cost of summer program you are applying for, amount requested; (2) a copy of your graduate transcript; (3) a letter of support and endorsement of your request from one faculty member in your department. Send materials to: George W. Breslauer, Chair, Center for Slavic and East European Studies, 361 Stephens Hall, Attn: Summer Language Grants. The application deadline is **FEBRUARY 5, 1992**.

FLAS Summer Fellowships: Summer FLAS fellowships cover registration fees and provide a stipend of \$1,500. Students must enroll in an intensive (approximately 200 hours) foreign language course equivalent to one academic year of language study. Summer fellowships are not available for dissertation research. The application deadline for summer 1992 is **FEBRUARY 5, 1992**. Applications available at Graduate Fellowships; remember, if you are applying for a Mellon Summer Language Grant you must also apply for a FLAS fellowship.

The University of California at Berkeley summer workshop offers intensive instruction in Russian language at the first- and second-year levels, June 15-August 21, 1992. An alternative, self-paced course will be offered June 29-August 21. These sessions are open to the general public. Contact: Office of Summer Sessions, 22 Wheeler Hall, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720; 510/642-5611. You may also contact the Slavic Department, 5416 Dwinelle Hall; 510/642-2979. The application deadline is **JUNE 1, 1992**.

The American Council for Collaboration in Education and Language Study (ACCELS) and **The American Council of Teachers of Russian (ACTR)** Czech and Slovak Exchange Program offer summer language training in Czecho-Slovakian and Hungarian. Czech language, literature and area studies courses are held at Charles University (Prague), Masaryk University (Brno), and Comenius University (Bratislava). Similar courses of study in Hungarian are offered at the University of Economic Sciences (Budapest). The eight-week program runs from mid-June through mid-August. Credits are

offered through Bryn Mawr College. Contact: Mike Kuban or Pam Snyder, ACTR/ACCELS, 1619 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Suite 527, Washington, DC 20036. The application deadline is **MARCH 1, 1992.**

Social Science Research Council (SSRC) Summer Workshops:

The Fifth Annual Summer Workshop on Soviet Domestic Politics and Society will be held at Massey College, University of Toronto, June 7-19, 1992. It will be directed by Professors Peter and Susan Solomon of the University of Toronto, and Professor Brian Silver of Michigan State University. For information and applications contact: Domestic Politics Workshop, Joint Committee on Soviet Studies, Social Science Research Council, 605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158. The application deadline is **FEBRUARY 1, 1992.**

The Second Annual Summer Workshop in Underrepresented Fields in Soviet Studies: Sociology and Anthropology will be held at Stanford University June 21-28, 1992. It will focus on sociological and anthropological studies of the Soviet Union, and will be directed by Professor Barbara Anderson of the University of Michigan and Professor Nancy Tuma of Stanford. Ph.D. candidates and junior scholars who received their Ph.D.s after June 1986 are eligible. For information and applications contact: Workshop in Sociology and Anthropology, Joint Committee on Soviet Studies, Social Science Research Council, 605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158. The application deadline is **FEBRUARY 1, 1992.**

The Second Summer Workshop on Early East Slavic Culture will be held June 19-24, 1993, at Stanford University. The workshop will be organized by a working group headed by Professor Nancy Kollmann of Stanford. The thematic focus of the workshop will be 17th-century Muscovy in the context of its interconnections with other East Slavic and Non-Russian cultures. Participants must be currently enrolled in a doctoral program or have received the Ph.D. after June 1990. For more information contact: Workshop on Early East Slavic Culture, Joint Committee on Soviet Studies, Social Science Research Council, 605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158. The application deadline is **MARCH 1, 1992. Remember, the workshop does not take place until summer 1993.**

The Council on International Educational Exchange (CIEE) announces its Moscow Summer Business Program at the Plekhanov Institute of Economics, Moscow. Contact: Council on International Educational Exchange, University Programs, 205 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017; 212/661-1414. The application deadline is **MARCH 1, 1992.**

Harvard's Ukrainian Summer Institute will offer intensive language courses in beginning, intermediate or advanced Ukrainian, as well as history and literature courses. Tuition scholarships are possible for these sessions, to be held June 24-August 16, 1992. Contact: Harvard Ukrainian Summer Institute, 1583 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02138; (617) 495-7833 or 495-4053.

University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign Russian and East

European Center announces its annual Summer Research Laboratory. Graduate students and other scholars wishing to use the library facilities of the university are eligible. Housing and library privileges provided; associateships are available for any period of time between June 15-August 7, 1992. Workshops on East European and Soviet world culture and contemporary Ukraine will be offered. Contact: Vicki Miller, Russian and East European Center, University of Illinois, 104 International Studies Building, 910 S. Fifth Street, Champaign, IL 61820.

Johns Hopkins University's Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) offers intensive political Russian language courses in two sessions: June 1-July 3, and July 6-August 7, 1992. Sociopolitical, military, and business usage will be emphasized. Partial fellowships are available. Contact: Office of Summer Programs, SAIS, 1740 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20036; 202/663-5713. The fellowship application deadline is **APRIL 1, 1992.** The admission deadline is **APRIL 15, 1992.**

The Monterey Institute of International Studies announces its Summer Intensive Russian Program, to be held June 17-August 19, 1992. Special instruction is available in Czech and Hungarian. Contact: Summer Admission Office, Monterey Institute of International Studies, 425 Van Buren Street, Monterey, CA 93940; 408/647-4123.

The University of Washington offers several summer programs. The Summer Central Asian Languages and Culture Program has instruction in beginning, intermediate and (maybe) advanced Uzbek; beginning and intermediate Kazakh; and beginning Tajik, June 22-August 21, 1992. Followup programs are available in the republics. **Information:** contact Ilse Cirtautas, Chair, Near Eastern Languages and Civilization; 206/543-6033. The Annual Summer Language Program offers instruction in Russian, Bulgarian and Czech languages, June 22-August 21, 1992. Scholarships are available for returning undergrads. **Information:** contact Gretchen Kaapcke, Slavic Department; 206/543-6848. **Admissions:** contact Summer Quarter, 5001 25th Avenue, NE, GH-24, University of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195; 206/543-2300.

The University of Michigan announces its Armenian Summer Language Institute in Yerevan, Armenia, June 28-August 26, 1992. Language instruction offered at the beginning and intermediate levels, supplemented by lectures, excursions, and cultural events. Contact: Marysia Ostafin, Armenian Studies Program, Summer Institute, 216 Lane Hall, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48109; 313/747-2237. The application deadline is **MARCH 1, 1992.**

Note: The AAASS January 1992 newsletter contains an extensive listing of summer programs. They also produce the **AAASS Directory of Programs** each year, which lists over 100 summer programs in the U.S. and abroad. The Center has the Directory; see the index for Summer Program references. □

Calendar of Events

Now - February 14

PHOTO EXHIBIT: "Images of the August Coup in the USSR." Sean Ramsay is an accomplished photographer and stringer for Reuters. His photos depict the drama of those few crucial days. Heller Gallery, Student Union.

Wednesday, February 5

BROWN BAG LUNCH: Please note change of speaker.

Roman Z. Livschitz is professor of the theory of law and labor law and head of section, Institute of State and Law, Academy of Sciences, Moscow. He will discuss changes within and developments concerning the labor laws of the former Soviet republics. 442 Stephens, noon.

Friday - Sunday, February 7 - 9

CONCERT/FESTIVAL: The Russian Center of San Francisco presents The Russian Festival. The opening night concert features Savina, the Neva Russian Dance Group, and the Golden Ring (a Moscow dance troupe). Savina, a women's East European folk choir, will perform from their repertoire of village and contemporary music. Friday night tickets are \$10 and are available by calling 415/921-7631. Advanced purchase of tickets is advised. 7:00 p.m. On Saturday the Russian Festival continues with entertainment, vodka tasting, traditional food and children's games. Savina performs at 6:00 p.m. and 8:00 p.m. Tickets are \$5 adults, \$3 seniors and students, children under 12 free. 11:00 a.m. - 10:00 p.m. On Sunday Savina performs at around 4:15 p.m. 11:00 a.m. - 7:00 p.m. The Russian Center of San Francisco, 2450 Sutter Street, San Francisco.

Wednesday, February 12

BROWN BAG LUNCH: Emil Constantinescu, vice president of the Civic Alliance and vice chancellor of the University of Bucharest, will talk on "The Development and Role of Democratic Movements in Romania." 442 Stephens, noon.

Monday, February 17

CONCERT: Gennady Rozhdestvensky conducts the Soviet Philharmonic in a program of Rimsky-Korsakov, Schnittke and Tchaikovsky. Tickets are \$11-\$45 and may be purchased at the S.F. Symphony Box Office or by calling 415/431-5400. Davies Symphony Hall, S.F. Performing Arts Center, Van Ness and Grove Streets, San Francisco. 8:30 p.m.

Wednesday, February 19 -- NO BROWN BAG LUNCH

Wednesday, February 19

COLIN MILLER MEMORIAL LECTURE: The Center's eighth annual Colin Miller Memorial Lecture. This series honors the memory of Colin Miller, a retired reporter and Hollywood producer who had an abiding

interest in Slavic and East European studies. He was the first non-faculty member of the Center's executive committee. This year's speaker will be Sir Alec Nove, professor at the Centre for Development Studies at the University of Glasgow. The title of his talk will be announced shortly. Lipman Room, Barrows Hall, 8th floor. 4:00 p.m.

Friday, February 21

FILMS: "Romanov Twilight: The Pre-Revolutionary Russian Cinema of Yevgeny Bauer." Pacific Film Archive presents the first of three programs in its series on early Russian/Soviet filmmakers. Russian cinema in its first years is especially noted for post-Revolutionary epic films reflecting the social ideas, as well as the shocks, of the time. But in Pre-Revolutionary Russia another, psychological, cinema had already developed, epitomized by the work of Yevgeny Bauer and Yakov Protazanov. These films, influenced by Symbolism and other *fin de siècle* movements, were distinguished by their refined atmosphere of action and by the nuances of the hero's experiences (*Silent Witnesses*, *Daydreams*). Post-Revolutionary psychological cinema considered new emotional and moral collisions (*The Girl With a Hatbox*, *The Parisian Cobbler*). (Adapted and abridged from Naum Kleiman's introduction to "Psychological Realism in Early Soviet Cinema," InPFA's January/February calendar).

On Friday PFA presents three films directed by Yevgeny Bauer: *Daydreams* (*Grezy*, Russia, 1915, C. 40 mins.), in which a man pursues and marries a woman who is his dead wife's double; *The Twilight of a Woman's Soul* (*Sumerki Zhenskoi Dushi*, Russia, 1913, C. 45 mins.), which traces the repercussions when a bored noblewoman occupied with charitable work is raped by one of her protégés (this film is missing the third reel); and *Silent Witnesses* (*Nemye Svideteli*, Russia, 1914, c. 65 mins.), in which the hypocrisy and cynicism of the dominant class toward its servants is attacked. Total running time: 150 minutes. All films are silent with live English translation of titles, and piano accompaniment by Bruce Loeb. Pacific Film Archive, 2625 Durant Avenue, Berkeley; 510/642-1412. The program begins at 7:30 p.m.

Saturday, February 22

FILMS: "Psychological Realism in Early Soviet Cinema." The first of the three films in this group is *The Girl With a Hatbox* (*Devushka s korobkoi*, USSR, 1927, 66 mins., silent with English titles). The actress Anna Sten plays a shopgirl given a lottery ticket instead of her wages. The ticket wins her a fortune. Directed by Boris Barnet. 7:30 p.m. *The Parisian Cobbler* (*Parizhsky sapozhnik*, USSR, 1927, 49 mins., silent with Russian titles and live English translation, piano accompaniment by Bruce Loeb), tackles a controversial theme: the sexual exploita-

tion of women by party activists in the name of free love. The director is Friedrich Ermler. 9:20 p.m. Yuri Tsevan, who restored the prints seen here, will be present for the Saturday and Sunday screenings. Pacific Film Archive, 2625 Durant Avenue, Berkeley; 510/642-1412.

Sunday, February 23

FILM: The last film in the series "Psychological Realism in Early Soviet Cinema" is *Bed and Sofa* (*Tretya Meschanskaya*, USSR, 1927, 71 mins., silent with English titles, piano accompaniment by Bruce Loeb). This film concerns a *ménage-à-trois* which develops during a housing shortage in Moscow. Directed by Abram Room. Pacific Film Archive, 2625 Durant Avenue, Berkeley; 510/642-1412. 7:00 p.m.

Wednesday, February 26

BROWN BAG LUNCH: Andrew Janos, professor in the Department of Political Science, has recently returned from a nine-month visit to Hungary. His topic is "Eastern Europe: Interstate Relations in the 'No-Man's Land.'" 442 Stephens, noon.

Wednesday, March 4

BROWN BAG LUNCH: Benina Berger-Gould, research associate at the Center, will speak on a topic TBA. 442 Stephens, noon.

Friday, March 6

CONCERT: Kitka, an East-Bay-based East European women's chorus, performs at the Noe Valley Ministry/East Bay. Tickets are \$12 at the door, \$10 in advance. For tickets call 444-0323. First Congregational Church, 2345 Channing Way, Berkeley. 8:45 p.m.

Saturday, March 7

CONCERT: Kitka performs at the Noe Valley Ministry/San Francisco (see Friday, March 6). Noe Valley Ministry, 1021 Sanchez at 23rd Street, San Francisco. 8:15 p.m.

Wednesday, March 11

BROWN BAG LUNCH: Akira Uegaki, professor of economics, Seinan Gakuin University, Japan, and a research associate at the Center, will speak on "Economic Transformation in Postwar Japan (1945-50) and Reform in Eastern Europe Today: a Comparative Study." 442 Stephens, noon.

Thursday-Friday, March 12-13

CONCERT: Mazowsze, a Polish dance company of 100 dancers, singers and musicians, brings traditional dances to Zellerbach. Tickets are \$18, \$15, and \$11 and are available through the Cal Performances Ticket Office, 510/642-1988. Zellerbach Hall, campus. 8:00 p.m.

BSP/from page 2

complex and unprecedented. Participants also noted that the former Soviet Union is a massively armed superpower with tactical and/or strategic nuclear weapons all over the country and especially on its exposed perimeter, and that this fact threatens very dangerous repercussions for the international community if the economic and political situation is not peacefully resolved.

The highly militarized nature of the former Soviet state complicates issues of economic and political reform, and the failure of Yeltsin's announced economic plans in October to take into account this situation made the Soviet participants highly dubious of the plan's chances for success. Vitalii Shlykov informed participants that production in the military industrial complex, which employs about 20 million people, has come to a virtual standstill, and that the Russian Republic has neither the funds nor the administrative staff to undertake conversion of defense-oriented industries.

Oleg Bogomolov contended that privatization constituted the core issue of economic reform measures, but that a "nomenklatura privatization" would be unacceptable to the people. To lessen the likelihood of social unrest, Bogomolov argued that the former Soviet people must receive some kind of equity in privatization, be it in land, residences, or shares of enterprise stock. The procedural aspect of privatization elicited some differences of opinion as Bogomolov supported rapid privatization, while professor of economics and dean of international and area studies at Berkeley, Albert Fishlow, said that the Mexican and British examples suggest a slower process as being more efficacious. In any event, George Breslauer of Berkeley argued that the first stage of the transition to a market economy would more closely resemble a racket economy such as Chicago's in the 1920s. Ironically, in the present situation of confusion among various governmental levels arguing about who owns what, privatization may first require the nationalization of economic goods before their redistribution in market conditions is possible. Full reports of both conferences will be available shortly.

—Andrew C. Kuchins,
Executive Director, BSPSS

Livschitz/from page 1

number of articles addressing more general theoretical issues. His 1989 article stressing the importance of the distinction between *zakon* and *pravo*, and arguing that law has to have some inherent sense of justice, represented a critical move away from the rigid positivism that has characterized legal theory for much of the Soviet period.

On February 5, 1992, in 442 Stephens Hall, Professor Livschitz will be the featured speaker at a Brown Bag Lunch, at which time he will expand on his view of the role of law in the post-Soviet context.

—Kathryn Hendley

Friday - Sunday, March 13 - 15

OUTREACH CONFERENCE: "Beyond the USSR."

In December 1991 the USSR formally ceased to exist, superceded by the announced "Commonwealth of Independent States." What is this new entity? What kinds of cooperation are emerging among its member-states? How are economic, social, political and international relations developing within and among the states of the former Soviet Union? And what are the implications of these trends for world peace and security?

This weekend-long program features a distinguished assemblage of scholars drawn from both coasts of the United States, from Great Britain, and from Russia--including specialists on Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Central Asia and the Baltic states. For information on this important conference call the Center at 510/642-3230. The fee is \$50; enrollments will be accepted beginning February 10. Alumni House, campus. □

Be sure to save the weekend of March 13-15 for the Slavic Center's Outreach Conference: "Beyond the USSR." Details above.

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Dilemmas of Transition
In the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe

George W. Breslauer, Editor

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